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ADDRESS OF THOMAS D. ELIOT,

OF THE 1ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS,

TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

My FRIENDS:—I feel impelled to address you by considerations which have pressed themselves upon me recently with an earnestness that I am not able to withstand. They control wholly the unwillingness I have always felt to anticipate or to accompany what I deem it right, as a public servant, to say or to do, by statements explanatory or defensive. These days develop rules of action inapplicable heretofore. As your representative, anxious to advance, here at this time, by personal influence and by vote, your real interests, I am desirous also that you shall know why I have not advocated and why I cannot support the "Compromises" of this year. So far as they are unreal or unsubstantial, or may be understood as surrendering or conferring some privilege or power which we do not intend to surrender or confer, I object to them as frauds upon those who are the other parties to the "Compromise." In this category must be included all propositions for concession which, it is claimed, do not surrender principle. The great question upon which the Southern slaveholders join issue with us is one of principle. If we yield anything that is substantial it must be something of principle. When it is said that we must, at this momentous crisis, be willing to concede and to surrender, provided only we remain faithful to principle, nothing is said, for if we yield nothing that costs us anything we give nothing that is of value. If it be deemed of value it is because the party who receives it is deceived and believes that more is conceded than we intend to yield. A compromise thus effected is secured by false pretences.

But some among the proposed measures of adjustment which have been pressed with earnestness upon Northern men do manifestly involve serious surrender of principle—of all, in fact, that is real and vital—of all that we have contended for, for the vindication of which the Republican party was organized, and in whose vindication it has achieved success. And so far as these propositions are concerned, I object to them as frauds upon the people of the North and West, as frauds upon freedom, whose commission presupposes faithlessness to duty and criminal violation of high trust. As there are two classes of compromise, both objectionable upon the general grounds above stated, so there are two classes of States sought to be affected by them. The Southern seceding States may, it is hoped, be reclaimed, and the middle adhering but threatening States may, it is urged, be retained if these concessions, or some of them, be made. But no one of the seceding States proffers return to allegiance upon concession. By no one of them is compromise desired. And for a reason that is well understood. The design to withdraw from the existing Union and to construct a Cotton Confederacy has been indicated from time to time by Southern politicians for many years. It was entertained by Mr. Calhoun, and has been developed by his disciples; and the election of Mr. Lincoln and consequent loss of political power by the South are availed of as the fit pretext for its consummation. And no one of the able and patriotic men who have spoken for the middle States in the Senate or upon the floor of the House of Representatives has felt authorized to commit his State to a continuance in the Union even if the concessions are made which have been most hopefully advocated. "Concede and we will consider," has been substantially the ground assumed by them. But these men, able and earnest and hopeful, are not secessionists, and do not sympathize with them in their respective States. The secessionists in the middle States mean to bring about disunion for subsequent "reconstruction" probably—but disunion now, as the first step toward such reconstruction as will secure to them permanent power. I have seen no rea-

son to believe that any concession that does not involve unconditional surrender of manhood would affect perceptibly the action of these States. No promise or pledge has been given by any State or made by any representative concerning State action upon "concession;" nor have any authorized assurances been held out to the representatives of the free States of the Union that any middle slave State would probably be satisfied to remain united with them upon concession made. If the secessionists within any State can control the action of their State, no offered compromise would prevent separation. If they have not control, no withdrawal from the Union will occur.

I desire now to review briefly the "question" and the "compromises" proposed. The duty of the free States will be thus developed.

The question is one of political power. From the day of the inauguration of Mr. Jefferson to the day of the election of Mr. Lincoln, with brief interval, the power of the Government has been held by one political party. In course of time, gradually, and by the operation of causes growing out of the character of our institutions, this party has become more and more obviously the party of the South, or, more accurately, of the slaveholding interest of the South. At last it has come to pass that its success has been rightfully deemed the success of the slave power, and its defeat has been as rightfully deemed the success of the free power in the land. Now it was well known that the census of this year would demonstrate certain facts which would materially affect the balance of political power in this country. Among the earlier compromises which it was deemed wise by the founders of our Government to sanction, that one which determines the apportionment of representatives among the several States by adding to the whole number of free persons "three-fifths of all other persons" was destined to secure a political power to the slave interest which the natural forces of freedom could alone control. Those natural forces have been operating hitherto, and it was known that the census statistics of 1860 would add more strength to freedom than the arbitrary provisions of the Constitution had guaranteed to slavery. The election of Mr. Lincoln upon the Chicago platform has demonstrated the power of a present majority, and the necessary withdrawal from office by Southern Democratic States, consequent upon it, has forewarned the extreme South that such majority earnestly operating within the rule of the Constitution, in favor of freedom, would probably indefinitely postpone the recovery of lost power. And the time will come when the historian who shall narrate the occurrences of this year will be obliged to record the fact, that ambitious, designing, and reckless men, flushed with power, and insolent from its long possession, resolved to ruin when not permitted to rule, encouraged and aided by public officers willing at any sacrifice to conceal their own official corruption, have by a series of fraudulent misrepresentations to the people of the Southern portions of the Union, where no Republican voice is permitted to be heard, so poisoned the heart of the people against the Government that within ninety days after the election of the President, six States have enacted ordinances of secession. Two of these States, South Carolina and Georgia, were original members of the Union; but before they became so, the first compromise, "parent of all our woes," was made. In the Constitutional Convention, while the question of the continuance of the slave trade was under consideration, and the eloquent statesmen of Maryland and Virginia were opposed by the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia, it was deemed best to let in these two States upon their own terms and not to exclude them from the Union; and the compromise in the first article of the Constitution was made that States might "import" such persons as they thought proper to admit prior to 1808.

To extend slavery was the purpose and the effect of this first compromise, and now it is proposed that we should for the same purpose, by constitutional amendment, which shall be unchangeable hereafter, covenant and agree that lands now free which may be acquired by purchase, or by force or fraud, lying South of an arbitrary line, shall be doomed to hopeless slavery.

The reasons assigned by secession leaders in the different States to justify their treason are various and somewhat inconsistent. In South Carolina it has been confessed that since the time of Mr. Calhoun, if not from an earlier period, it has been the purpose of that Commonwealth, at a convenient time, to assume its position among the powers of the earth as a sovereign nation. In one of the States the election of Mr. Lincoln has been assigned as the controlling cause; and the legislation of some of the Northern States unfriendly to their interests has been vouched in as one of the reasons impelling them to separation. But the recognized Republican

doctrine, the will of the majority expressed according to the provisions of constitutional law, should control and determine the policy of the Government, has been repeatedly avowed as the radical and underlying grievance which cannot be submitted to. The pretence is that the majority will oppress, and assume powers not conferred by the Constitution. No oppressive measures have been initiated, for as yet the Republican party have had no control or responsibility; and it is obvious that none could be consummated without a majority in the House of Representatives and against a majority in the Senate. But the time is near at hand when the Republican party, if faithful to its principles, would control both the Senate and the House; and the Southern politicians have well understood that now, before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, was the time to strike the blow. During the Presidential canvass, when it was ascertained that the hostile wings of the Democratic party could not unite, and that a Democratic defeat must be sustained, there were in the Cabinet at Washington able, ambitious, and unscrupulous men, who, it is now known, were then in conspiracy to overthrow the Government. The Army and the Treasury were in their hands. The money of the Treasury was thrown into Southern States, and used to strengthen Southern power. The military forces of the Government were dispersed and sent far away from home. The arms and munitions of war belonging to the Government were withdrawn from the North, and large sums of money expended in the procurement of other arms and munitions of war, which have been distributed among the forts and arsenals of the South. When it is remembered that these acts of treason were designed and consummated for the purpose of enabling the extreme Southern States more successfully to throw off their allegiance to the Union, and more readily to establish an independent slave Confederacy, it will be appreciated at once that no concession or compromise, however humiliating, could prevent or postpone those ordinances of secession advocated and demanded by the very traitors who, at Washington, had prepared the way for their vindication by arms within the rebelling States.

On the 20th of December, 1860, South Carolina assumed to withdraw from the Union. Mississippi followed on the 9th of January, 1861; on the 11th of January Florida and Alabama enacted their ordinances of secession. Georgia followed on the 18th, and on the 26th of January Louisiana determined to unite her fortunes with those of her sister States. Six separate sovereignties were thus created, and while I write, these rebel States are in convention for the purpose of forming what they term a Provisional Government. The same men who, in the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan, had initiated, plotted, and arranged these acts of treason against the United States, were found in the conventions of these States, hurrying to their final passage with mad haste the ordinances of separation. And one of them is now the President of the convention of seceding States. During all this time the forts and arsenals and public property of the United States within these States were left unguarded. Months before, the President had been warned and urged and entreated to protect and defend them. But the men who held his ear withheld his hand. With a few important exceptions, every fort and arsenal, and depot of arms within the seceding States, has been seized, and is now occupied by the enemies of the Union. Immense supplies of arms, ammunition, and implements of war have been fraudulently and traitorously possessed under color of authority from the States in which they were situate. And they are now held, with large deposits of money also seized, against the will of the Government to which they belong, under a pretence of right! It is proposed to retain and to use them all if necessary to defeat any attempt which shall be made by the Government to recover its own property!

It is obvious that no action of the Republican party could have stayed for one day the progress of events during the month of January. If the President had been faithful to his duty, those various acts of treason could not have been consummated. But the consequences of his criminal inaction cannot be visited upon us. And when it is remembered that among the most persistent and uncompromising leaders of the secession rebellion are found the men who have from its organization most bitterly opposed the principles and denounced the men of the Republican party, it will be appreciated at once that no action of that party short of its dismemberment could have been effective to control the course of events which have brought the Union to its present distracted condition. In the record of the past, no history is found of such gigantic national crime, as that which will blacken the page that shall describe filly events recently enacted and now occurring among us. The means adopted by the traitors, official and political; the consequences risked and defied, and the end to be

secured, must be regarded together, if we would estimate aright the unparalleled atrocity of the great act of treason. To overthrow a popular political party; to establish slavery as a national institution; and to recover and perpetuate political power, are now recognized as the threefold end sought to be brought about by preliminary secession and subsequent reconstruction. It is not impossible that the hurried and illconsidered, and insolent action of the first seceding State may result in permanent separation of the Gulf States; and whether such result was originally contemplated or not, it may in the progress of events be made inevitable. It must be so, unless such humiliating surrender by the free States of the rights of freemen shall be made, as will demonstrate that we are indeed a nation of slaves; or unless, in the mysterious providence of God, events shall occur, at which the heart of the nation, is shaken in advance with dread, that may call for reconstruction without the presence of a slave.

But the "question" is not fully stated when we have considered the causes of this rebellion or its progress hitherto. There are border slave States, where radical secessionists are now working with that zeal which avowed treason stimulates to unwearied and unscrupulous efforts, and where noble and patriotic men are striving to stem the mad tide that must otherwise overwhelm them, and their families, and their fortunes! And the Republican party is called upon to strengthen the hands of those men against their common enemy. I frankly confess that it is here I feel the pressure of the call for concession. There are men in all those States who recognize as clearly as we can do the weakness, folly, and wickedness of what is called secession. Their hopes centre in the Union, and their personal fortunes are involved in its existence. In Missouri, the most western, and in Maryland, the most northern of the border States, the great interests of the people seem to be so dependent upon their continued union with the free States, that their patriotic men may truly say, "it is to the Union alone we must look for continued prosperity and peace."

But there is one prominent and controlling objection to the measures of concession and guaranty proposed, not affecting their character—itsself objectionable—which is applicable to the position assumed by the middle or border States.

All the "compromises" are concessions merely, without equivalent. It cannot be said properly that the equivalent is that the border States will not attempt to withdraw from the Union. That, if true, would be no equivalent. It would be a demand for concession upon threat and not for value. But it is not true. No party or party man has declared or claimed a right to do so, that any of these States would not withdraw if these compromises are granted; but only that being made, the hands of Union men would be strengthened in their contest with disunionists. Whether, thus strengthened, they can uphold the flag of the Union is uncertain. But if it shall appear that such strength thus secured will be sufficient for that work, this objection remains: that all or substantially all of those who have from the border slave States asked concession or compromise, that so they could the better at home contend with the enemies of the Union, have stipulated, nevertheless, for one condition, as a political *sine qua non* of permanent union. And that condition is, that no force shall be employed by the Government to recover its own property.

That would be "coercion!" And "if one drop of Southern blood should be spilled, all the Southern States must at once unite." I believe this to be the feeling of the larger number of those who yet ask for concession, to the end that the present Union may not be further, and at once dissolved. But obviously, unless the middle States are willing to belong to the Union, and to support the Government and to "enforce the laws," their continuance with us would be a source of weakness, and not of strength. For one thing is certain, we must ascertain whether we have or not a Government! If we have not, one must be made, and that would be a Free Republic. If we now have a Government, its laws should be obeyed and enforced, and the traitors who have taken forcible possession of the forts, arsenals, military depots, mints, and hospitals of the Federal Government should be brought to punishment, and the property recovered. This question of Government or no Government, must now be settled. It must be determined in the only feasible, and, indeed, possible way, by retaking what has been wrongfully, and in violation of law, wrested from our control. To do that may require time and money, and the shedding of blood. They alone who have committed the treasonable crime, are responsible for this. At whatever cost of time, or money, or human life, it must be done, if this Government is a Fact and not a Fiction.

With this question another is connected, which involves the abstract right of se-

cession. I need not argue to you the absurdity of that right as claimed. It is said "six States are out, why discuss the right?" Because the adhering border States are also threatening States! They claim that they will withdraw, if "guarantees are refused." Shall we give them guarantees, even if thereby kept within the Union, and thus impliedly recognize the right to secede? Would such settlement permanently benefit them or us? But if these States have a right to withdraw, other States may also withdraw, if guarantees are refused to institutions or interests claimed to be essential to their prosperity. If the iron of Pennsylvania, or the zinc of New Jersey or Wisconsin, shall be refused protection, or the manufactures of New England shall be prejudiced by unfriendly legislation, any offended State has the same right to secede that the hitherto seceding States have had, or the threatening States now have; therefore it must now be settled whether such right exists. If the middle States insist upon such right, to be exercised by each State when it may choose, and as it may choose, it is worse than useless to attempt concession or compromise. We can have no Government entitled to respect among the nations of the earth, if each State being offended may withdraw. Secession is rebellion. It is revolutionary. If the men who set the laws at defiance fail, they are liable to the punishment of traitors. If they succeed, they vindicate by force the right of revolution. But it is a question of force. I do not forget that six States claim to have seceded, and that one more will probably soon follow them. I am not discussing what ought to be done by the Government with respect to them. Where one man commits a crime he may be punished. Where 50,000 men commit a crime, the course which it may be most proper to pursue, is not so obvious. But I am considering rather this assumed right of secession, in view of the compromises we are called upon to make. For manifestly, concessions are useless, unless such right as claimed is abandoned. I do not believe that it will be deemed right to attempt to keep by force any State within the Union. But its right to secede must not be admitted expressly, or by implication. Let the revenues be collected. Let the property of the Government be recalled, and the evils of separation will work out their own remedy. But when we are called upon, as we now are, to make constitutional surrenders and concessions and guarantees, in order that States now in, shall be induced to remain loyal to the Union, no doubt should be left concerning the future exercise of that right by any State South or North. I have seen no reason to believe that any one State which has discussed the question of concession or secession, would hesitate to claim the right at any time peaceably to secede. I cannot hearken to any proposition, while such right is maintained. The "right of revolution"—we all understand. The right of peaceable secession, as now claimed, is a very different thing. The one confesses a Government, and seeks to overturn it. The other is inconsistent with the existence of a Government. A Government must assume to maintain its laws, and to enforce obedience.

But the concessions, or compromises, or constitutional guarantees demanded by the slaveholding power of the South from the Republicans of the Union, ought not to be made or given for reasons intrinsic to and suggested by the character of the concessions or guarantees themselves. The Committee of Thirty-three have reported for the action of Congress certain general resolutions and a proposition to admit New Mexico as a State, and an amendment to our Constitution and an additional fugitive slave law. Besides these, the compromises known as the "Crittenden" propositions are under consideration. I can give my support to none of them, or to none like them. Eleven resolutions have been reported. Probably no one believes that the passage of all of them would have any effect to change a vote in any State upon the question of secession. One of them announces that "all attempts" by State Legislatures to obstruct or hinder the recovery and surrender of fugitives from service or labor are in derogation of the Constitution of the United States. An "attempt" to obstruct by legislation would presuppose legislation *with intent to obstruct*. The Constitution provides for the delivery, on claim, of the person owing service who has escaped; and legislation with intent to defeat that provision of the Constitution would be "in derogation" of it. But no one believes that after a month of labor thirty-three gentlemen have agreed to offer a resolution for the purpose of announcing that fact! Who doubts that a law made for the purpose of defeating a provision of the Constitution is "in derogation" of it? But the objection to that resolution is this: Every Southern man and every Northern Democrat, as I believe, who has discussed or referred to the "liberty bills" or the "laws preventing kidnapping," now upon the statute books of many of the Northern States, has spoken of

them as attempts to violate the constitutional provisions concerning the rendition of fugitives from service. And this resolution by the terms "all attempts to obstruct," means to affirm, and is understood to affirm, that *all such liberty laws and laws against kidnapping* are "attempts to obstruct" the surrender of fugitives "in derogation of the Constitution." Now that proposition is not true. It is not true in fact or in law. My objection to the resolution is that it is either so weak that it ought not to be offered or so deceptive that it ought not to pass.

One of the resolutions calls upon the Northern States to "revise their statutes." It is not deemed worth while to invite the Southern States to revise or reconstruct their laws. Massachusetts has been revising as far as she deemed it her duty to do so. I decline to advise her to do more. But if it were within the fair scope of my duty to advise my Commonwealth concerning her legislation to protect the personal liberties of her citizens, I should say "repeal no law which assumes to protect our own citizens, and which no court of Massachusetts has declared to be in derogation of the Constitution, without providing also that the repealing act shall not go into operation until the fugitive slave act of 1850 shall be so amended that *the citizens of Massachusetts may have the right to a trial by jury within their own State upon all questions involving their right to personal freedom.*"

The sons of Massachusetts have a right to such protection from their native Commonwealth. What citizen of a southern State will hesitate within his own State to claim the same protection and assert the same right of legislation. Another resolution is a *congressional recognition* of slavery as now existing in fifteen States, and a declaration that no *right exists* outside of a slave State to interfere with slaves or slavery *in disregard of the rights of their owners or the peace of society.* Now, no one pretends that any such right to interfere exists. Every one understands that the Republican party disclaim such doctrine. And the real object of that resolution cannot be to announce a fact so baldly incontrovertible. The object of the resolution must be to secure a congressional recognition of the institution of slavery as now existing in our southern States. I will be a party to no such recognition. What Madison objected to have named in the Constitution, I am unwilling needlessly to recognize by formal resolution.

But I cannot criticise each resolution in detail. Two or three of them are unobjectionable and appropriate. One of them is "that it is the duty of the Federal Government to enforce the Federal laws, protect the Federal property and preserve the Union of these States." I shall vote for that resolution. But when these resolutions assert a proposition which no one denies, but contain recognitions or authorize inferences which will be understood by the southern slaveholder as meaning something which the northern Republican would be unwilling to admit in terms that he did truly mean, I decline wholly to give them my support.

Among the proposed measures of adjustment, is a resolution for an amendment of the Constitution. It is as follows:

"Article XII. No amendment of this Constitution having for its object any interference within the States, with the relation between their citizens and those described in section second of the first article of the Constitution, as 'all other persons,' shall originate with any State that does not recognize that relation within its own limits, or shall be valid without the consent of every one of the States comprising 'the Union.'"

I cannot consent as a Representative of the people to propose to the State Legislatures any such amendment to the Constitution. By the provisions of the fifth article of the Constitution, the ratification by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or by Conventions in three-fourths of the States, are required to make valid any proposed amendments thereof. It is apparently not possible that any alteration of the Constitution which the proposed amendment would prevent could be made. It is not contended that such amendment is required because of any possible contingency which could effect such alteration. But it is proposed as a measure of reconciliation. No southern State has asked for such amendment. There is no reason to believe that any southern State would be affected by it or satisfied with it. But if such amendment could have any practical effect, it must be because it would give constitutional sanction to slavery which it has not now, or would furnish guarantees to slavery additional to those now furnished.

I am willing that all the States shall have for all their interests the protection which the Constitution now affords. I am aware that the progress of civilization, the vary-

ing interests of society, and the course of events, may require change in our organic law. If a National Convention shall hereafter be called, upon application by the States pursuant to the terms of the Constitution, such amendment as now proposed, if it shall be deemed to furnish additional and substantial guarantees to slavery, may be fitly discussed. But I am wholly averse to the uncalled for initiation by Congress of any amendments, at this period of Christian civilization, which shall give more strength or greater perpetuity to usages, customs, or laws which recognize a right in one man to oppress, or defraud, or enslave another. Next in the order of proposed compromises is the Act for the admission of New Mexico. When this Territory was acquired by the United States, it was free by means of Mexican legislation. Being organized into a Territory, the Territorial legislature wrongfully and by unauthorized assumption of power, enacted a slave code of peculiar, original, and unequalled severity. That code now operates within the Territory, and would operate within the State we are called on to make. It is now a slave Territory. It is proposed to make it a slave State. It is said that slavery will not go there because slave owners can do better with their slaves elsewhere. So long as that is true, slavery will not be to any great extent introduced. How long it may be true no one can tell. But slaves are there now by force of Territorial law. The fact that the number is small cannot affect the principle. I do not believe it to be right, nor do I believe it to be for the welfare of the Union that another slave State shall be at this time admitted. If it shall come in as a free State, or if being admitted it shall, as is believed by many, repeal the slave code and abolish slavery, the South will say, and I think with good reason, that they have been deceived, and the precise question now disturbing the condition of the country when the next southern territory shall be acquired will again distract us. New Mexico is not fit to be a State. Her citizens have not asked to be admitted as a State. The slave interest of the South will be deceived if being admitted she establishes free institutions. The Republicans will be deceived if being admitted now, she adheres to the code by which the Territorial Legislature attempted to legalize slavery.

The amendment of the act for the rendition of fugitives from labor, is advocated as being an improvement of the law of 1850. And it is, as a piece of legislation, an improvement upon that law. It would not be easy to change for the worse the law of 1850. And, until it can be repealed or more humanely amended, I prefer to leave it as it is. My own views upon this subject are well known to you. I am of the opinion held by Mr. Webster, and more recently expressed by the South Carolinian disunionists in their Convention, that it was not the intention of the framers of our Constitution to confer upon Congress the power to legislate concerning the rendition of fugitives from labor.

Mr. Crittenden has proposed amendments to our National Constitution in six articles.

The first article provides that in all territory now held or hereafter acquired by the United States south of the line of 36° 30', slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all departments of the Territorial government.

That article would doom to slavery by law, in advance of our ownership of the territory, all the regions of Mexico and Central America now free! When the people of the United States shall consent to such an amendment of their organic law, they will become a "slave nation." That time has not yet come.

The second article takes from Congress the power to abolish slavery in places *under its exclusive jurisdiction* within the slave States.

The third article abolishes their power to act within the District of Columbia, while Virginia or Maryland hold slaves, without their consent, or without consent of the inhabitants of the District or compensation to dissenting owners.

The next article provides that Congress shall have no power to hinder the transportation of slaves, by land or water, from one State to another where slavery is recognized. This amendment would secure a transit through the free States.

There are other amendments proposed, but these are the most important.

When the people of the free States of the Union are prepared to incorporate these provisions into their organic law, another "Preamble" should be made, for these amendments would not be to "secure the blessings of liberty," but to inflict the curse of slavery upon ourselves and our posterity.

No changes in our law could be suggested which would more truly make slavery a National Institution. These propositions can receive no favor, and I have stated

them now because I believe that no argument against them will be desired except what the statement itself affords.

Such are the compromises of this year! The people have rendered their judgment in favor of freedom in the Territories. The political power of slavery thereupon sunders the Union, demanding concession and new guarantees; and being defeated at the polls, insolently requires that the principles of its own political platform shall become constitutional law.

The crisis in our National affairs is one of gravest moment. I assume with awe the profound responsibility that rests upon those who now represent the People. I was not chosen by you in view of such events. But I have regarded with jealous watchfulness the causes that have produced them, and I recognize the duties they enjoin.

I am entreated in your behalf to make "concession" to slavery—to make the slave power which has ruled us heretofore more potent by Congressional legislation and by Constitutional amendment—so that it shall rule us hereafter also. It is said the Union may be saved by concession. I believe the Union has been dismembered now, because of power gained by unwise concessions heretofore made. I believe that only firm adherence to the principles of our present Constitution will restore to us a more perfect union and establish justice and insure to us domestic tranquility.

THOMAS D. ELIOT.

WASHINGTON, *February*, 1861.

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